we will not give her up to you." The second time /89/ they really do not give her up. The husband already does not go for her, but sends a third person to settle the account, i.e., to receive 3-4 kara. 683 562

If the disharmony with the husband which took place is the fault of the wife (aib khatyndan bulsa), i.e., for infidelity, a bad tongue, etc., then her relatives do not accept her, even though she runs away to them twenty times, and they say: we will not demand vengeance money for you. Then she goes to another more distant relative (baska turkun). Her lover appears there and says: "Your kinswoman has separated from her husband. I will take her and pay all the expenses." The husband takes it to court. The wife does not wish to return to him on any account. Her lover pays 6-7 kara or 30 tillias for the benefit of the husband. 586

If a lawful wife starts a quarrel with her husband in order to leave him, without any cause from his side, customary law does not permit her to do so. If in spite of this there is no possibility of keeping her with him, the husband is required to give her a letter of divorce, and the wife or a man who wishes to marry her is obliged to return in full the kalym which was received for her.

For killing his wife, the husband pays her relatives (as for mutilation) less than the usual female wergeld according to kinship, as it is said. 682 562

For barrenness (bedau, kysyr) a wife is not sent back to her father, but they ask the mullah to read over her, or send her to spend the night at holy places and burn a candle there (mullaga okutady, auliya[illegible] tunetedi charag yagib). In the poem Shura Batyr is a description of the journey of Marykbai and his wife Gul'kanys, for this reason, to the tomb of a saint, who appears to them and promises a son and a daughter. 842

After repeating the words talak (divorce) or talak koydym (I have given a divorce) three times, a divorce is validated according to the Shariat. In addition, a woman who goes away to her father's house, or to the person who married her off is usually considered divorced. She does not take property with her, but /90/ the husband gives her something, for example, one-eighth of his property, if she was not guilty in the divorce. 586

A divorced woman no longer walks covered with a veil, as she did formerly.

Former spouses can marry again, even up to three times. The fourth time a woman can marry her former husband only if she was married to an outsider after the third marriage. In the Kazalinsk uyezd, 587

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583 adornment, but the girl left her natal aul and family, and was lost to them economically, while the young man remained with his family.[197]

But this explanation[1] is still insufficient, because 583 it ignores what is expected of the wife: not only her 581 economic power, but her capacity to produce children, and specifically sons. The transaction involving wealth in exchange for bride is not accounted an equal transaction, because the Kazakh family still placed a higher value on male than female children, as the author who proposed the above explanation himself reports.[198] The levirate, the attitude toward the widow and the children, as well as the simple value placed on a male child, all point to the interpretation of the marriage among the Asiatic steppe pastoralists as a contract for the services of the wife for the production of male issue.

584 If a girl died while still only betrothed, the father of the girl was obliged to find a substitute, a sister or other junior kinswoman, or else return the kalym or that part of it which had already been made over to him. If the affianced boy and his family refused a marriage with a younger sister of the deceased girl, they forfeited the kalym which they had already

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[197] Karutz, Unter Kirgisen, 100.

[198] Ibid., 101.

[1] [Cf. cat. 583, p. 477-478. - Analyst]